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# Racism and the Desegregating Process, December 1970

Robert Clark

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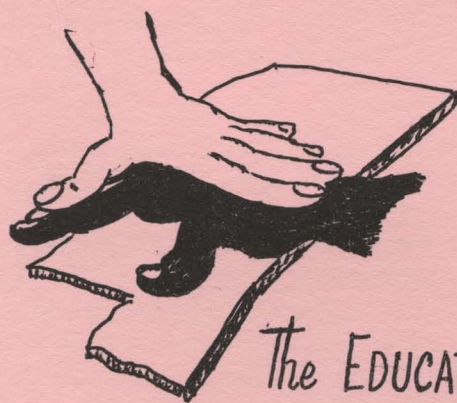
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# RACISM and ~~The~~ *DESEGREGATING PROCESS*



A MISSISSIPPI STUDY

by

The EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES Center

Robert Clark, Chairman

C. G. Ward, Director



## FOREWORD

The problems of Black people during the process of school desegregation brought together the Mississippi Teachers Association and several community groups to form the Educational Resources Center. Joining together we have worked to build integrity and maintain the humanity of everyone during this crisis for Mississippi schools, aided by the support of private foundations. As the problems defy superficial short-range solutions, our aim is that we can be equipped in the skills for the work of overcoming the problems brought out in this report.

This report is the product of our initial work to assess the problems we face and to seek ways for people to overcome the dehumanizing difficulties. The report relies heavily on the observations of our staff (and others who worked with us in their communities) during the early months of the school year, as well as on reports made by school officials to the Courts and HEW. We are most thankful for the guiding hand of Rims Barber, our chief consultant for this project. We present this report in conjunction with the larger South-wide analysis (in the preparation of which we participated) as a complimentary piece.

While our report zeroes in on the basic statistics of discrimination our concern is with the attitudes what they reflect. Racism is a disease that is stunting the growth of young people as they seek to fulfill themselves as a part of the human family. We here attempt to diagnose that disease by describing the external symptoms and relating some feelings of the pain inside children, where the real learning is taking place.

Representative Robert Clark  
Chairman, Educational Resources Center

December, 1970



## RACISM AND THE DESEGREGATION PROCESS

The system of public education in Mississippi was developed and nurtured by interests that served racism and economic exploitation. That system provided for absolute White control of separate and unequal schools, that prepared certain Whites for becoming "cultured" managers of plantations and businesses while training Blacks for cotton chopping and fleeing to Chicago. Desegregation is forcing some external changes in that system, but its heart is where it always has been.

This study attempts to point out some of the factual data demonstrating that racism has not died just because a court ordered school desegregation. Most of what is presented is statistical in nature, for only that sort of racist behavior can be tabulated. Such data is indicative of the underlying attitudes toward children and learning held by those who control the schools.

The tables of statistics are of value only if we see behind them the people whom the schools are supposed to serve. For them, the realities that we find are:

- there is still a dual school system, with forty percent of the Black students attending separate and inferior classes;
- there is more White visible control as principalships are taken from Blacks and given to Whites;
- Black teachers are falling under increasing scrutiny causing some to have lost their jobs and others to maintain themselves fearfully and cautiously at the expense of their teaching creativity;
- young Black people (who have grown up in a new world because of the civil rights movement) are less likely to find teaching jobs as districts give preference to White applicants;
- the integrity of Black students is compromised by rigidity of discipline and by the loss of the symbols which once indicated that they and the school belonged to each other;



- the lessening of concern by public school officials who send their children to all-White private schools;
- the lowering of financial support for schools;
- the frustration of parents who feel isolated from schools, finding the fate of their children controlled by processes in the courts and in HEW from which they are excluded.

These realities are crippling the minds of children within institutions that should be opening minds to new freedom of creative thought.

#### LARGE REMNANTS OF RACIAL ISOLATION

In the Spring semester of the 1969-70 school year the first "massive" integration of schools took place. There was no adequate policing of the violations of the court orders and resegregation occurred in virtually every district. Two motions for contempt were filed, but no hearings were held, and the year ended with most Black children still getting separate education.

As the 1970-71 term opened, President Nixon boasted that 97% of the schools districts in the South were desegregated. All 150 districts in Mississippi were under orders to completely desegregate. No citizens' group can take the role of the federal government to police violations. However, we have found that over 100,000 Black children are still segregated. According to our latest figure 118,101 Black students are in classes that are more than 90% Black. We feel safe in claiming (based on this partial survey and allowing for a maximum error) that over 40% of the State's 270,000 Black students are in such circumstances. The Tables that follow list school districts in which we know practices exist to segregate students. In some we have the exact figures. In others we know of the practice but have only approximations, rounded to the nearest hundred (taken from observations and previous enrollment and average daily attendance figures).



Some seven thousand students are re-segregated by U. S. Government approved provisions in desegregation plans that allow for free choice either by everyone or by Whites only (called "minority to minority transfer"). In such districts Whites are clustered in "their" schools, leaving no change in the Black schools.

Over thirty-three thousand remain in segregated schools because of zoning provisions contained in the orders to desegregate. Despite Administration rhetoric, most of these 25 school districts would not require any additional busing to accomplish full desegregation. (Most are small towns or rural areas that bus most of their students anyway).

White flight has caused a number of districts to become virtually all Black, while all but two retain total White control of the decision-making process. As Whites flee to private academies, they establish a new dual school system (public and private) both controlled by the same people.

The final element is one of tracking, or in some cases, arbitrary segregation within the school buildings. This type of segregation is the most difficult to uncover, but it is the most damaging to those who see the demeaning aspects staring them in the face all day long. Unfortunately we feel that the discovered districts represent a growing pattern that relegates many Black children to inferior classroom situations.



## BLACK CHILDREN IN 90% OR MORE BLACK CLASSES

Free choice plans	Exact	Approx.	Total
Copiah	519		
Hazelhurst	600		
Leflore	4,138		
Vicksburg	723		
West Tallahatchie	1,026		
	<hr/>		
	7,007		7,006

## Zones

Attala		500	
Benton		500	
Biloxi	436		
Clarksdale	1,370		
Clay		300	
Cleveland	2,325		
Columbus		1,500	
DeSoto	406		
East Tallahatchie	248		
Forrest County	195		
Greenwood	1,876		
Greenville	3,762		
Gulfport	70		
Harrison		1,500	
Hattiesburg	1,447		
Jackson Municipal	5,190		
Laurel	1,442		
McComb	598	300	
Natchez	3,842		
Rankin	248		
Rosedale	1,359		
Scott	265		
Shelby	1,405		
Simpson	226		
South Pike		1,300	
	<hr/>	<hr/>	
	26,709	5,900	32,609

## Tracking and Arbitrary Segregation

Amory	130	
Carroll	821	
East Tallahatchie		200
Franklin		400
Grenda	1,102	
Humphreys	2,399	
Jeff Davis		200
Leake	762	
Lee		500
Louisville		1,000
Marion	117	
Natchez		300
Newton Municipal	42	



	Exact	Approx.	Total
Okolona		500	
Rankin		1,200	
South Panola		500	
Starkville		1,000	
Walthall		1,200	
West Point		1,000	
Winona		300	
Yazoo	1,366		
	<hr/> 6,739	<hr/> 8,300	15,039
White Flight			
Amite	1,209		
Anguilla	1,017		
Benoit	1,168		
Canton	3,744		
Claiborne	2,413		
Coahoma	4,994		
Drew	850		
East Jasper	1,843		
Hinds	5,332		
Hollandale	1,897		
Holmes	5,100		
Indianola	2,773		
Jefferson	2,573		
Kemper	871		
Madison		3,000	
Marshall		1,000	
North Panola		1,500	
Noxubee	3,350		
Oktibbeha	1,554		
Quitman County	1,184		
Sharkey-Issaquena	1,625		
Shaw		1,400	
Sunflower	3,680		
Tunica	2,975		
Wilkinson	2,640		
Yazoo County		2,200	
	<hr/> 52,800	<hr/> 9,100	61,900
plus Mound Bayou	1,547		1,547
	<hr/> 94,801	<hr/> 23,300	118,101

These isolated students represent 44% of the State's 270,000 Black students. Giving a reasonable margin of error on approximations, and on slippage from the 90% standard this represents in excess of 40%.

Mississippi also has 260,000 White students in its public schools, as well as 40,000 or more in private segregated schools. The segregation cuts two ways, with many Whites isolated from the fullness of Mississippi's society.



## VISIBLE CONTROL OF SCHOOLS

Most Black students formerly attended schools that were all-Black and that had Black persons as principals. To Black students they provided a symbol of leadership, of accomplishment. Moreover, they allowed Black children to grow up without facing White control everyday (although almost all of the institutions of their society are controlled by the White community), giving an opportunity for growth at an emotional distance from the discriminators.

As the school districts complied with the school desegregation orders, many Black schools were closed, putting Black students into formerly White schools. This tendency is most pronounced in areas that were trying hard to keep their White students enrolled. As a further bow to the prejudices of the White community, Black principals were removed from the positions of symbolic leadership, and Whites were installed in their place.

The Tables that follow show that half the districts surveyed have no Black principals at all, and that only 43 of the remaining 206 principals are Black. It is only in the districts that are overwhelmingly Black (over 80%) that we find more Black principals than White. It appears that the State has lost about half of its visible Black leadership from the public schools, and that most Black children will now grow up in a visibly White-controlled world. (An HEW/OCR report confirms, giving 52.9% loss of Black principals in their onsite compliance reviews).



## PRINCIPALS

<u>District</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
Baldwin	3	4	0
Houston	3	1	0
Ittawamba	7	7	0
Iuke	1	1	0
Long Beach	5	7	0
Pass Christain	3	3	0
Quitman Consolidated	3	4	0
Richton Line	2	2	0
Newton	2	2	0
Stone	5	5	0
Perry	4	4	0
South Panola	4	4	0
DeSoto	9	4	0
Amory	4	4	0
Lamar	7	7	0
Jones	13	13	0
Bay St. Louis	4	4	0
Smith	3	3	0
Columbia	4	3	0
Pontotoc Municipal	2	2	0
George	6	3	0
Union Municipal	1	1	0
West Jasper	3	2	0
23 Districts	<hr/> 98	<hr/> 90	<hr/> 0

5 have  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  Black Students

2 have  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 80% Black Students



## PRINCIPALS

<u>District</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>
<sup>x</sup> Jefferson	2	1	1
Webster	4	1	1
<sup>x</sup> Kemper	4	2	1
Gulfport	17	16	1
Winona	2	1	1
Chickasaw	2	3	1
Forest Municipal	3	2	1
Lumberton Line	2	1	1
*Western Line	3	2	1
Water Valley	4	3	1
Pascagoula	14	13	1
11 Districts	55	45	11
West Jasper	3	4	2
Jeff Davis	4	2	2
Brookhaven	6	4	2
Warren	8	7	3
4 Districts	21	17	9
East Jasper	2	1	2
*North Panola	7	3	5
*Leland	2	2	3
*Rosedale	6	2	4
<sup>x</sup> Indianola	5	2	3
<sup>x</sup> Sunflower	7	1	4
<sup>x</sup> Anguilla	2	0	2
7 Districts	31	11	23

\* = 80 - 90%

<sup>x</sup> = over 90%

45 Districts Totals 21% Black

163 White to 43 Black



## THE INSTITUTIONAL POINT OF CONTACT: TEACHERS

The treatment of teachers under the new desegregation plans give key indications as to the manner in which education is regarded and transmitted to students. Teachers have historically been in pivotal point of the educational system.

Under the old segregated system of education teachers were recruited by the principals of the schools, both Black and White. Black principals had their own recruiting system in the all-Black colleges; Whites had theirs. According to a State Department of Education publication Teacher Supply and Demand, 1969 the Black colleges in Mississippi supplied 897 new teachers and the White colleges supplies 903 new teachers. These teachers were recruited by principals for the schools of their perspective races and merely approved by the Superintendents and Boards. Similarly, the principals at the end of each school year passed to the Superintendent the list of persons he wished to have retained for the following year, and contracts were issued.

The control of teacher recruitment and placement, as well as the determination of contract renewal, is now in the hands of the Superintendent. His actions are presumably governed by the Court orders and compliance agreements under which his district is desegregating. The standard provisions in both court orders and compliance agreements are:

"the district shall assign the staff so that the ratio of Negro to White teachers in each school, and the ratio of other staff in each, are substantially the same as each such ratio is to the teachers and other staff, respectively, in the entire school system.....the school board will develop or require the development of non-racial objective criteria to be used in selecting staff ... staff members will be hired, assigned, promoted, paid, demoted, dismissed, and otherwise treated without regard to race, color or national origin."

In our survey of districts, we found that those school districts which have over 90% Black students are in a category by themselves. In these areas, most White teachers have left, although a few have remained (a number of these



remaining White teachers have their children in private schools, which calls into question their commitment to public schools and to the children they purport to be teaching). Most of these districts had increases in the number of Black teachers, and heavy losses in White teachers. Their faculties averaged 74% Black before desegregation and now average 86% Black. Only one has an all Black faculty.

We also found that those districts that had under 20% Black students were peculiar in nature. Only one of them hired any new Black teachers. All had a smaller percentage of Black teachers than of students. The systems were almost entirely White, being very selective about their Black employees.

The major portion of our survey, therefore, concentrated on those districts that had from 20 to 90 percent Black students. We looked for statistics on:

- a- loss of Black teachers;
- b- how many Black teachers left the school system and how many were hired new;
- c- how many White teachers left the system and how many were hired new;
- d- the relationship of Black to White in school districts;
- e- the relationship of Black teachers to Black students.

On the average, from our cross section, there was a loss of 11.3% of the Black teaching force. In 43 districts with 1,839 Black teachers in 1969-70, there were only 1,630 in 1970-71. That is a net loss of 209. In thirty-three of those districts, for which we have full figures, 237 Black teachers left the employ of the district and 161 Black were hired new. This is a net loss of 76 teaching positions (32%) of Black people.

Analysis to eliminate the districts which either gained Black faculty or lost White faculty, yields 17 districts which gained 282 White teachers while losing 90 Black teaching positions.



Nine districts hired more Blacks than they let go, while 24 districts eliminated 107 of the 193 slots vacated by Black teachers. In the nine districts that gained Black teachers (31) there was a gain of 78 White teachers.

Seven districts lost White teachers (58), Gulfport absorbing half of those losses. The corresponding districts lost 17 Black teachers. Not counting Gulfport, the losses were proportional to the racial ratios of the districts. The losses by those districts mean that the other 26 districts actually gained 360 White positions.

Seven districts failed to hire any Black teachers, while no district failed to hire some Whites. Even in the majority Black districts there was a loss of Black teaching positions (43) while there was a White gain (8).

There is a differential between the racial make-up of the student body and the racial make-up of the faculty. In majority Black districts the percentage of Black teachers in every case is less than the percentage of Black students. The differential ranges from 1% to 29%, with eight of the 13 having a differential of over 10%. A similar differential of 10% appears in districts from 34 to 49 percent Black students. In the under one-third Black districts there appears the only one district that has the same percentage of students as teachers, and the only one that has a higher percentage of Black teachers than of Black students. If we were to add enough Black teachers in these districts to make the ratio of Black teachers to Black students the same as the overall pupil-teacher ratio we would have to hire 487 teachers, or an additional 29% to the already existing 1,691 Black teachers.

Beyond these factors, we found several strong tendencies:

- In districts with schools that are racially indentifyable, Black teachers are assigned to Black schools out of proportion to their district-wide ratio;
- In districts with tracking Black teachers are isolated in all-Black and lower tracks branding them (as well as their students) as "inferior";



- Evaluation standards and racial prejudice tend to make Junior High faculties less highly rated than Senior Highs. They also tend to make Junior Highs more Black in faculty composition than High Schools. (A survey of 13 districts showed High Schools with 29% Black faculties and Junior Highs with 40% Black faculties.
- Several of the reports appear to have listed Black substitutes teachers in their racial breakdown of faculties.
- When White teachers refuse to transfer to formerly all-Black schools they are not forced to do so, either changing the ratios in the formerly Black schools, or enabling districts to employ Black substitutes in positions they are holding open for White applicants.

\* on the following tables, some districts did not have 1969-70 figures available, and 1968-69 were used in their place.



B L A C K S				W H I T E S		
District	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New
Rosedale	68	12	11	43	12	15
West Tallahatchie	80	28	25	34	22	19
Leland	78	20	22	51	17	17
Montgomery	52	17	8	39	12	8
East Tallahatchie	77	22	12	50	20	6
Jeff Davis	81	8	5	72	27	25
West Point	73	29	3	90	27	54
South Panola	84	19	9	89	24	44
Franklin	54	22	4	51	13	4
Okolona	29	12	7	29	12	17
Newton Municipal	36	5	3	37	8	6
Starkville	59	28	0	129	29	30
Quitman Consolidated	60	14	5	81	15	4
Over 50% Totals	831	236	114	795	238	249



B L A C K S				W H I T E S		
District	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New
North Pike	25	5	2	32	11	7
West Jasper	32	5	9	47	5	13
Winona			1			9
Laurel	97	10	3	148	29	35
DeSoto			6			72
Brookhaven	62	4	4	94	25	21
Forest Municipal	25	3	5	47	7	10
Pass Christian	25	5	4	53	25	20
Water Valley	24	13	7	32	5	11
Chickasaw	9	1	1	37	3	4
Houston	31	4	1	96	16	17
Columbia	35	7	7	77	29	25
Lincoln	41	11	3	75	14	16
Warren	47	5	8	134	9	53
Lumberton Line	12	0	0	28	5	10
Pontotoc Municipal	10	2	6	45	9	11
Rankin	125	73	40	318	103	105
33-49% Totals	576	148	100+7	1263	295	358+81
			107			439



B L A C K S				W H I T E S		
District	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New	69-70 Number	Left System	Hired New
Perry	18	3	11	45	9	22
Amory	25	8	3	63	12	23
Baldwin	13	1	0	44	0	6
Stone	23	0	2	60	8	12
Union Municipal	8	1	0	27	3	8
Webster	20	3	8	67	11	16
Richton Line	10	4	0	30	5	5
Picayune	58	25	6			23
Gulfport	95	21	20	350	121	92
Jones	69	24	1	230	18	58
Tupelo	66	3	4			25
Bay St. Louis	19	7	0	72	15	15
Monroe	8	1	0	81	10	26
20-33% Totals	286	73	45	1075	212	283
	<u>+146</u>	<u>+28</u>	<u>+10</u>			<u>+48</u>
	432	101	55			331
Total (20-90%)	1693	457	259	3133	745	890
	<u>+146</u>	<u>+28</u>	<u>+17</u>			<u>+129</u>
	1839	485	276			1019



District	# Black Students	# Black Teachers	# Total Students	# Total Teachers	Total P-T Ratio	Black to Black P-T Ratio	# Black Teachers needed to equalize
Oktibbeha	2150	72	2787	115	24:1	30:0	17
Amite	2493	92	2835	118	24:1	26:1	11
Rosedale	2248	67	2638	110	24:1	33:1	26
W. Tallahatchie	2235	79	2657	111	24:1	28:1	14
Ieland	2331	80	2794	131	21:1	29:1	31
South Pike	2099	77	3185	131	24:1	27:1	10
Vicksburg	3548	158	5460	302	15:1	22:1	78
Jeff Davis	2199	78	3368	148	20:1	28:1	31
S. Panola	2354	71	4178	172	24:1	33:1	28
Newton Municipal	801	34	1511	69	22:1	24:1	2
Starkville	1762	331	3397	1319	24:1	53:1	40
Quitman Consol.	1337	51	2601	120	21:1	26:1	12
50% - 59%		892					301
W. Jasper	908	35	1995	87	23:1	26:1	5
Winona	757	22	1526	65	23:1	34:1	11
DeSoto	3855	126	8185	318	26:1	30:1	22
Brookhaven	1787	62	3823	152	25:1	29:1	9
Forest Municipal	903	27	1662	77	21:1	33:1	16
Pass Christian	713	24	1581	73	22:1	30:1	8
Simpson	1863	74	4324	182	23:1	25:1	7
Water Valley	661	18	1558	56	28:1	36:1	7
40% - 49%		388					85
Scott	1661	60	4249	180	24:1	28:1	8
Chickasaw	346	9	905	42	21:1	38:1	7
Houston	734	28	1935	87	22:1	26:1	5
Columbia	876	35	2332	108	21:1	25:1	5
Warren	1905	50	5504	226	24:1	38:1	29
34% - 40%		182					54
Gulfport	2156	94	8919	417	21:1	23:1	9
Jones	1567	49	7003	319	22:1	32:1	22
Tupelo	1285	67	5737	265	21:1	19:1	0 (-2)
Bay S. Louis	420	12	2055	84	24:1	35:1	5
Monroe	460	7	2350	104	22:1	65:1	13
20% - 25%		229					49(47)
TOTAL		1619					489(487) 29%



## BLACK FACULTY

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District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
Benoit	100	56	78	8	7	55	84	-1
Anguilla Line	99	48	60	7	8	49	100	+1
Claiborne	99	86	79	0	18	104	94	+18
Jefferson	99	82	79	20	36	98	94	+16
East Jasper	95	64	73	1	4	67	78	+3
Sunflower	94	143	79	12	18	149	83	+6
Shelby	93	74	71	6	13	81	86	+7
Indianola	92	11	70	13	17	116	87	+4
Kemper	90	86	67	12	11	85	79	-1
Amite	88	92	58			92	79	0
Rosedale	85	68	61	12	11	67	59	-1
W. Tallahatchie	84	80	70	28	25	77	71	-3
Ieland	83	78	60	20	22	80	61	+2
Oktibbeha	77	77	69			72	62	-5
Montgomery	71	52	57	17	8	43	55	-9
South Pike	66	76	59			77	59	+1
E. Tallahatchie	65	77	60	22	12	67	65	-10
Vicksburg	65	153	54			158	52	+2
Jeff Davis	65	81	51	8	5	78	53	-3



## BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
West Point	60	73	45	29	3	47	30	-26
Franklin	54	54	51	22	4	36	47	-18
Okolona	54	29	50	12	7	24	41	-5
Newton	53	36	49	5	3	34	49	-2
Starkville	53	54	46	28	0	31	24	-28
Quitman Consol.	51	60	42.5	14	5	51	42.5	-9
North Pike	49	25	44	5	2	22	44	-3
W. Jasper	49	32	39	5	9	36	39	+4
Winona	49				1	22	34	
Laurel	48	97	39	10	3	90	37	-7
DeSoto	47				6	126	30	
Brookhaven	47	62	39	4	4	62	41	0
Forest Municipal	45	25	34	3	5	27	35	+2
Pass Christian	45	25	31	5	4	24	33	-1
Simpson	43	77	39			74	35	-3
Water Valley	42	24	39	13	7	18	32	-6
Scott	39	61	33	11	10	60	33	-1
Chickasaw	38	9	21	1	1	9	21	0



## BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
Houston	38	31	32	4	1	28	32	-3
Lincoln	37	41	35	11	3	33	30	-8
Columbia	37	35	31	7	7	35	32	0
Warren	34	47	26	5	8	50	22	+3
Lumberton	33	12	33	0	0	12	33	0
Pontotoc Municipal	33	10	18	2	6	14	23	+4
Rankin	33	125	28	73	40	92	22	-33
Perry	32	18	29	3	11	26	31	+8
Amory	30	25	28	8	3	20	21	-5
Baldwin	30	13	30	2	0	11	24	-2
Stone	30	23	27	0	2	25	29	+2
Union Municipal	30	8	22	1	0	7	18	-1
Webster	29	20	23	3	8	25	29	+2
Richton	28	10	25	4	0	6	17	-4
Picayune	27	58	24	25	6	39	25	-19
Smith	25	37	27	12	0	25	19	-14
Gulfport	24	95	21	21	20	94	22.5	-1
Jones	23	69	22	21	1	49	16	-20



## BLACK FACULTY

District	% Black Students	69-70 Numbers	69-70 %	Left System	Hired New	70-71 Numbers	70-71 %	Net Change Numbers
Tupelo	22	66	28	3	4	67	25	+1
Bay St. Louis	20	19	21	7	0	12	19	-7
Monroe	20	8	9	1	0	7	7	-1
Biloxi	19	59	14	16	11	54	13	-5
N. Tippah	17	5	9	0	0	5	8	0
Prentiss	14	14	8	2	2	14	2	+1
Pearl River	9	0	0	0	1	1	2	+1
Iuka	8	1	2.5	0	0	1	2.2	0
Ittawamba	7	7	5	0	0	7	4.7	0



## BEING IN THE MINORITY

The increase in visible control by Whites and the assimilation of Black students into schools that are majority White, poses problems for many Black children across the State.

Many students merely find themselves in a new world with no Black anchors to hang onto, as they try to adjust. They are faced with new standards, new teachers, new rules, new curriculums. Even if the Whites are non-racist in their treatment, Black students have a hard time adjusting.

For many the adjustment is made more difficult by other losses. Student leaders are by-passed. Black students can participate only as minority members in activities that have a White tradition. In some cases, they are even excluded as new rules keep them from participation in extra-curricular activities. For others, they must learn to sing "Dixie" (both actually and symbolically) if they wish to participate in what they consider a normal part of school life.

For most students the discipline is tighter, as almost all districts used new discipline regulations as part of their sales pitch to Whites, whom they hoped to keep in the public schools. Such measures materially change the educational atmosphere.

In a different sense, there are Whites that are now in the minority in schools. It is a hopeful sign that numbers of poor Whites, unable to attend private schools, are now going to schools that are eighty and ninety percent Black. While this offers some long range hope, there are current problems for these students. They must face an adjustment to their new world, knowing that while they are White they have no direct representation on governing bodies. (Our survey uncovered no poor Whites on bi-racial committees; no parents of students attending 90% Black schools on school boards).



## FINANCIAL SUPPORT

While there is no overwhelming pattern we found that many school districts in which White flight was taking place also were lowering their local taxes for schools. Millage rates dropped in most majority Black districts, with Wilkinson County dropping the most (9 mills) making it the lowest in the State. However, the State provides most funds for current expenditures. It appears that schools will have to rely more and more on State and Federal funds for their continued support. In the long run this shift in financial support can do little else than cause schools to become a low priority with the average tax-paying citizen.



## SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

- It is not enough to find that Superintendents of schools are not acting with affirmative good faith to create schools where all have their integrity preserved and their common humanity enhanced so that Black and White children may grow together;
- It is not enough to find that the Federal establishment has done material damage to the minds and spirits of children (both Black and White) by conspiring to put off the possibilities of such learning;
- It is not enough to condemn the court system for its failure to deal forthrightly with failures to meet a constitutional standard of law and justice in a manner that would insure the rights of all.

We therefore make the following recommendation:

1. That a rule of law be established that no device may be employed by any district that allows schools or classrooms to vary more than 10% from district-wide student ratios;
2. That no school or teaching level may vary in its ratio of teachers from the district-wide student ratio;
3. That conditions of employment and advancement be subjected to EEOC regulations, and that a Philadelphia Plan for educational employees be enacted;
4. That students rights to participate meaningfully in the decisions affecting their education be legally recognized and enforced;
5. That new procedures be developed to insure that all unrepresented groups have their share in the affairs of the schools (not merely given advisory status) so that the schools can belong to and serve the total community.
6. That both the Courts and HEW treat school officials as "civilly guilty" and require payment of their debt to society in strong affirmative actions;



7. That those who have participated in this failure to obey standards of justice (be they school board members of the President of the United States) be immediately prosecuted for conspiracy to deny persons of their civil rights (subjected to the same penalties as those who conspired against Cheney, Goodman and Schwerner).

Unless such steps are taken we will face a long struggle for the setablishment of justice and the right of all persons to grow into the fulness of their humanity.